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THE
HISTORY
OF
RESISTANCE,

As PRACTIS'D by the
Church of *England* :

IN WHICH

'Tis proved, from most *Authentick Records*,
That in every *Reign* since the *Reformation of Religion*, the said CHURCH hath Aided and Assisted,
Justified and Approved of, such *Subjects* as have De-
fended themselves against the *Oppressions* of their
Tyrannical, tho' Natural PRINCES.

WRITTEN

Upon Occasion of Mr. AGATE's SERMON
on the 30th of *January*, and in DEFENCE of
the Late *Revolution*, the Present *Establishment*, and
the *Protestant Succession*.

The Second Edition.

By JOHN WITHERS.

LUKE 11. 46. *Ye lade Men with Burdens grievous to
be born, and ye your selves touch not the Burdens
with one of your Fingers.*

Quis tulerit Gracchum de Seditone querentem ?

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
Resistance, &c.

HISTORIANS tell us, That when the *Tongue-ty'd Son of Cræsus* saw the fatal Sword just ready to be sheath'd in his Father's Bowels, his *Surprize and Indignation* raised such an Emotion in his Blood and Spirits, as tore asunder those little membranous Fetters, which held the grand Organ of Speech a Prisoner from his very Birth. I doubt not but every True English man will readily confess Her present Majesty to be the Common Mother of Her People; when, therefore, such Doctrines are divulged from the Pulpit, as will blacken Her Conduct, and weaken Her Title, I need no other Apology to justify this present Essay, in Vindication of them both.

IT might have been expected, that Mr. *Agate's* Splenetick Temper should have been fully eased by that Torrent of Gall which he has poured forth on the Dissenters; and that the Members of his own Church might have obtained a fairer Quarter from him: But so flagrant is this Gentleman's Zeal, that it burns up every thing which stands in its way. Of this the CITY had a Notable Instance on the Thirtieth of January last, when taking for his Text *God's sending his Prophet to a Rebellious Nation*, and having a Fling at the HOUSE OF COMMONS, by remarking, *That God's Ministers must tell People of their Faults, though Find and IMPEACH'D for their Labour*; He undertakes to prove this Proposition, *That Resistance to the Higher Powers, upon any Pretence whatsoever, is absolutely Unlawful*. But suppose (says he, in the mid'st of his Declamation) the Prince should endeavour to

overthrow the Constitution, and bring in Popery, may he not be Resisted in such a Case? Oh No! God forbid! For he that Resisteth, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and shall receive to himself Damnation.

NOW, 'tis known to all the World, that the late King JAMES did endeavour to bring in Popery; that in this Attempt he was resisted by the Prince of Orange, with whom concurred our QUEEN, our Nobles and Bishops, our Gentry and Clergy, who, if this Doctrine be true, are all involved in the Guilt of a Damnable Rebellion. Besides, if the Nation was guilty of a Damning Sin in resisting King JAMES, they are obliged to Repent of it, as they value the Salvation of their own Souls. Now, Repentance is the undoing what was done amiss: If I have wronged and cheated my Neighbour, 'tis a vain Thing for me to pretend Repentance, unless I make him Reparation as far as I am able. Mr. Agate's Friends, the Non-Jurors, will tell him of a Gentleman on the other side the Water, who was acknowledged in all the Churches in England to be King JAMES's Son, and that in the most solemn Acts of Worship, when Men can never be excused if they speak what they do not think. And that the Nation can never Repent of resisting King JAMES, but by making Satisfaction and Restitution to ----- Accordingly, the Grand Patrons of Passive Obedience actually refuse to Recognize Her Majesty's Title, and reserve their Allegiance for the Pretender. 'Tis to promote his Interest, no doubt, that these High Fantastick Principles have been so zealously inculcated by the Relayer and his Party; and I wish that others may not espouse them for the same Reason.

BUT let us hear a little more of Mr. Agate's Oratory: If any (says this Declaimer on the Thirtieth of January) who have been Baptized into our Church, are for the Doctrine of Resistance, I PRONOUNCE them to be Enemies both to our Church and Constitution. And so made it the main Drift of his Discourse to persuade his Hearers, That none but Atheists and Deists, Papists and Dissenters, ever thought it lawful to resist the Higher Powers upon any Pretence whatsoever.

I have read, that before the Reformation, the A-bp. of Canterbury was called *alterius Orbis Papa*; the Pope of another World: But that the Curate of St. Mary Arches should set up for a British Pope, that he should assume to himself a Power of pronouncing who shall be esteemed a true Churchman, and who not, this I confess is new, and would surprize me

me, were not the *Humour* of the Man pretty well known, and that he is remarkable for nothing more than an *uncommon measure of Assurance*.

THE Design, therefore, of these *Historical Collections*, is to convince this Part of the World, that the *Church of England* in former Ages, did not espouse those Slavish Principles which Mr. *Agate* pretends to be its *standing Doctrine*: And that no more is now said by *Whigs* or *Dissenters* on the Point of *Resistance*, than what has been formerly practised by *Bishops* and *Convocations*. To make this Matter clear, I would premise Two or Three Things, which no Reasonable Man can deny me.

First, MENS *Actions* are the best Expounders of their *Intentions*, and their *Principles* may be best discovered by their *Practices*.

Secondly, IF all *Resistance* of Subjects to their Princes be *Rebellion*, then all such as *aid* and *abet* such Rebels involve themselves in the same Guilt. Our *Lawyers* will tell us, 'That in *Treason* there are no *Accessaries*, but all are *Principals* *'. We may partake in other Mens Sins, by administering 'Counsel, Direction or Assistance towards them; as the Famous Dr. *Sacheverell* has very truly determined †. When, therefore, our *Church* gave *Aid* to such as *defended* themselves against the *Oppression* of their own Princes, this is the same thing as if they had themselves *resisted*. These things premised, I come to prove the Point proposed by me in these Sheets.

AS the *Reformation of Religion* in the *Church of England* may be dated from the short Reign of King *EDWARD* the Sixth, so that the *Protestants* of that Age did not look upon *Resistance upon any Pre'ence whatsoever* as absolutely unlawful, may be demonstrated from the Conduct and Demeanour of these very Persons under his immediate Successor Queen *MART*. 'Tis known to every one who has the least Acquaintance with our *English Histories*, how that Young Prince was prevailed upon by the Artifices of the Duke of *Northumberland*, when in a Languishing Condition, to nominate the
Lady

* *Hale's Plea of the Crown*, p. 215.
by, p. 10.

† *Sermon at Der-*

Lady Jane Grey for his Successor to the Crown; a Young *Lady* of most incomparable Parts and Virtues, and a zealous Lover of the *Reformation*; but who, though she had Royal Blood in her Veins, had yet no Title to the Crown, either by *Virtue of Heirship*, or any Parliamentary Settlement. That which principally influenced King *Edward* to this Act, was the known *Bigotry* of his Sister *Mary*, and her passionate *Devotion* to the See of *Rome*; which made him fear that she would destroy what he had done, as accordingly it came to pass. Upon the Death of this Excellent Prince, the Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in *London*; but the Generality of the Nation adhered to the Princess *Mary*, on whom the Succession was entailed by the Estates of the Realm in *Parliament* assembled. Whil'st the two *Rival Queens* were contending for a Diadem, Dr. *Ridley*, at that time Bishop of *London*, renowned for his Piety and Learning, and above all Things for his Constancy in Martyrdom, and the Generous Testimony which he bore to his Redeemer's Cause; this great Man preached a Sermon at St. *Paul's Cross*, to advance the Title of Queen *Jane*. Amongst other things, 'He pressed the Inconveniences which might arise, by receiving *Mary* for their Queen, prophesying that which after came to pass, namely, that she would bring in a Foreign Power to reign over this Nation; and that she would subvert the true Religion, then established by the Laws of this Realm *.' So that this great *Prelate* was so far from believing all *Resistance* to be a Damnable Sin, that he publicly exhorted the People to defend their Religion and Liberties against the Right Heir to the Crown. Nor can it be pretended that he was a *Puritanical* Bishop, his Contest with Bishop *Hooper*, in Defence of the Habits and Ceremonies of the Church will evince the contrary.

Q. Mary had not long been in the peaceable Possession of her Kingdom, before the Promises made to those who drew their Swords in her Quarrel were quite forgotten, and she display'd the perfidious Cruelty, not so much of her Nature as her Religion: The *Protestant* Bishops were displaced; the Supremacy of the *Pope* recognized; and that Structure which her Brother had been so many Years in raising, was in a little time razed to the very Ground. In one word; The Goals were quickly crowded, and the *Roman Vulturs*, those Birds of Prey, were whetting their greedy Beaks and Talons, and preparing

* Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, &c. Edit. 2d. pt. 1. page 162.

paring their Stomachs for a bloody Banquet. This, together with the *Queen's* throwing her self into the Arms of the King of *Spain*, created a general Dissatisfaction throughout the Kingdom; insomuch, that *Conspiracies* were formed, and *Insurrections* intended, in divers parts; all which came to little, except that headed by Sir *Thomas Wiat*, a *Kentish* Gentleman, of great Estate and Interest, who marched up to *London* with an Army of some Thousands at his Heels: And if the Issue proved abortive, 'twas because his Treason fell in Labour some Weeks before the full Time thereof; as Dr. *Fuller* expresses it*. Dr *Heylin*, who was one of *Laud's* Chaplains, and a most bitter Enemy to the *Presbyterians*, assures us, 'That it cannot be denied but that the Resitution of the Reformed Religion, was the Matter principally aimed at in the Rebellion of these Men, though nothing but the Match with *Spain* appeared on the outside of it†; and that Dr. *John Poinet*, Bishop of *Winchester* in *K. Edward's* Days, was not only of Council in the Plot, but put himself into their Camp‡. So that here was one Bishop preaching against the *Queens Title*, another actually joyning with such as were in Arms against her; and sure *absolute Non-Resistance* could not be an Article of their Faith. Nay, the *Protestants* of the Church of *England*, at that time, were so far from thinking it their Duty to stand still whilest their Throats were cutting, that, if this *High-Church* Historian deserves any Credit, they were generally disposed, throughout the Nation, to defend their Religion and Liberties with their Swords; for, speaking of *Wiat's* Insurrection, he tells us, 'That all they that wished well to the Reformation were hooked in [to approve his Design,] upon the like Hopes of restoring that Religion which had been settled by the Care and Piety of the good King *Edward*, but now suppressed, contrary to all Faith and Promise, by the *Queen* and her Ministers. The Doctor adds, That the Contagion was so generally diffus'd over all the Kingdom, that if it had not accidentally broke out before the time appointed by them, it was conceived, by many Wise and Knowing Men, that the Disease might have been incurable. If this be a true Relation, we may conclude, that our First Reformers had not imbibed those slavish Principles which Mr. *Agate* pretends to be the standing Doctrine of his Church.

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* *Church Hist.* l. 8. p. 11.
pt. 2. p. 34.

† *Ibid.* p. 35.

‡ *Heylin's Hist. of Reform.*
‖ *Ibid.* p. 33.

TO Queen Mary succeeded Queen Elizabeth, to whose Auspicious Influence and Wise Conduct the Church of England owes its present Establishment. During her Glorious Administration, both Bishops and Nobles, Clergy and Laity, concurred in lending their Helping Hand both to the French, Scots and Dutch, when defending themselves against the Violence and Oppression of their own Princes. A Demonstration, that the Doctrine of the Bowstring was not at that time the Doctrine of the Church of England. To give some Instances.

IN the Year 1559, such of the Scottish Gentlemen as had embraced the Reformation, and who were called the Lords of the Congregation, thinking they had just Reason to defend themselves against the Oppression of the Queen Regent, and her popish Faction, took up Arms, and craved Aid of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Camden tells us, That this Matter was seriously consulted of in England, and the result of all was, that to fail the Professors of the same Religion seemed a Point of IMPIETY*. Hence I infer, that the Scots at that time professed the same Religion with the English; and that the Resistance which the former made, was not look'd upon by the latter as a Damnable Rebellion; for then it had been impiety, not to desert, but to assist them: Whereas a stout Band of Soldiers, with a Train of Artillery, was sent into Scotland to their Aid.

IN the Year 1562, the Protestants in France, being made desperate by the many Butcheries and Massacres that they were exercised with in divers parts of the Kingdom, thought it lawful for them to stand upon their Guard, and repel Force by Force. This they did, being headed by the Prince of Conde and the Admiral de Coligny: In these Circumstances they address themselves to Queen Elizabeth, who sent over the Earl of Warwick, with a well-appointed Army, to their Assistance†; and, at the same time, earnestly solicited the Protestants of Germany to relieve Conde, and defend the Common Cause of Religion‡. In the latter end of this Year, the Estates of the Realm were assembled in Parliament and Convocation, Who granted the Queen, the ECCLESIASTICAL Men one Subsidy, and the Laity another, with two Fifteenths and Tenths; and this Grant was declared to be made, amongst other Reasons, for the LAUDABLE ENTERPRISE in

* Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. Edit. 4th, p. 36
p. 62 † Ibid. p. 64

† Ibid.

‘ in *France* ||. That the Reader may have a clearer Notion of this matter, he must consider, that tho’ at present our *Clergy* are taxed by *Parliament*, and pay for their Benefices as *Gentlemen* do for their Estates, yet, before the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, they were taxed by their Representatives in *Convocation*. In the Instance now before us, the *Bishops* and *Dignitaries* of the Church were so far from looking upon that *Resistance* which the *French Protestants* made to their perfidious *Queen Regent*, (the *King* her Son being then a Minor) to be a *Damnable Rebellion*, that they called the Design of aiding and abetting of them a *Laudable Enterprize*, and contributed largely thereunto. And now let Mr. *Agate* tell us what he will pronounce of these Men, who were the *Fathers* and *Founders* of his own Church.

UPON the breaking out of the Second Religious War in *France* in 1569, ‘ The *Queen of England* failed not to relieve ‘ the *Protestants* in that Kingdom, and exhorted the *Princes* ‘ of the same profession to take upon them the *Defence* of the ‘ *Common Cause* *. The *Sieur d’ Aubigne*, a *French Historian*, tells us, That she remitted over an Hundred Thousand *Angelots*, (by which I suppose he means *English Angels*, for I can’t learn that there is any *French Coin* so called, a very considerable Sum in those Days) with a Train of *Artillery* †. And no doubt but she was encouraged hereunto by the Determinations of her own *Bishops* and *Clergy*.

THE Story of the Unfortunate *Scotish Queen* is known to most, who being driven out of her own Kingdom, took Sanctuary in *England*, where she was kept a Prisoner many Years, and at last lost her Head on a Seaffold. During her Captivity, the Duke of *Norfolk* had formed a Design to marry her, and so raise Disturbances in the Nation. This allarumed the *Parliament*, who made very severe Votes and Petitions against her, in one of which they thus address themselves to *Queen Elizabeth*: We Your Majesties most humble and faithful Subjects assembled in *Parliament*---- A Queen of late Time, and yet through her own Acts now JUSTLY no Queen, a nigh Kinswoman of Your Majesties, and yet a very unnatural Sister, Lady *Mary Steward*, late *Queen of Scots*, &c. ‡ I find by the *Queen’s Answer*, reported to the House by Mr. *Treasurer*, That the Lords joyned with the Commons in this Petiti-

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|| *Camden’s Hist. of Q. Eliz.* p. 64 * *Ibid.* p. 137
 † *Histoire Universelle*, l. 5. c. 10 ‡ *D’ Ewe’s Journal of Parliaments*, &c. p. 215

on ||; which I desire the Reader to remark for the *Bishops* sake. Should any person affirm, that King *Charles* was justly put to Death, *Mr. Agate* would represent him as much a Regicide as *Cromwel* or *Bradshaw*; and no doubt but he would be a Sharer in their Guilt. *We may be partakers of another Man's Sin, in commending, approving, excusing, or defending it afterward*, as the High-Church Hero *Dr. Sacheverell* has very orthodoxly determined*. In the Instance just now cited, we have the *Bishops*, the *Nobles*, and *Gentry* of the Church of *England*, with all solemnity declaring, *That the late Queen of Scots was then justly no Queen*; that is, in other words, she was justly deprived of her Regal Dignity. And by this Declaration they did justify that *Resistance* which her Subjects made unto her: This they could not have done, had they then looked upon all such *Resistance* as an enormous Crime.

A little after this, the Natives of *Flanders* and *Holland*, being harass'd by the *Terrors* of the *Inquisition*, and the *Barbarity* of the Duke of *Alva* their Governour, thought it lawful for them to defend their *Lives* and *Religion* against those *Instruments* of *Cruelty*, that were made use of to Oppress them. Under these Perswasions several *Provinces* and great *Towns* revolted from the King of *Spain*, their Natural Sovereign, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*; and the better to secure themselves against the formidable power of that haughty Monarch, they offered to transfer their *Allegiance* to the Queen of *England*, and become her Vassals. But though Her Majesty did not think fit to accept of this proposal, yet after serious Deliberation, she resolved, That it was CHRISTIAN PIETY 'to Relieve the Afflicted *Netherlanders*, Embracers of the 'same Religion which she professed †. And accordingly a well appointed Army, both of Horse and Foot, was actually sent over to their Assistance: This was done about the latter end of the Year 1585. The next Year there was a Session of Parliament; I find in the printed Journal of the House of Lords, that 'the Commons made humble suit to their Lordships, to join 'with them in a Contribution or Benevolence for the Charges 'of the LOW-COUNTRIES WARS ‡. The Lords appointed a Committee of their own Body to consider this Motion, of which Number were the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*,

|| D'Ewe's Journals of Parliaments, &c. p. 219

* Sermon at Derby Assize, p. 11. † Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 321. ‡ D'Ewe's Journals of Parliaments, &c. p. 386.

Resistance, &c.

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Turk, the *Bishops* of *London*, *Winchester* and *Salop*. Upon Conference amongst themselves, 'Twas resolved and agreed to by the whole House, that a *Subsidy* of Two shillings in the pound should be granted by the Temporal Lords, in as much as the Lords Spiritual had made former Offers of *Contribution* to Her Majesty, [*i. e.* in *Convocation*] ¶. I must leave the Reader to judge, whether *absolute Non-Resistance* could be a Doctrine of the Church at this time, when the *Bishops* and *Convocation* of *Clergy*, laid a Tax on themselves and their Brethren, for the *Charges* of the *Low-Countries Wars*. That is, in other Terms, for the *aiding* and *abetting* those very persons who were at that time actually *resisting* their own Lawful but Tyrannical Prince. I would crave Leave to make this one Remark more, That the Clergy were not at that time headed by *Salveverel's perfidious Prelate* Grindal; but the Metropolitcal Dignity was then possessed by Dr. *John Whitgift* *, whose Zeal against the *Puritans*, and for the *Discipline* and *Ceremonies* of the Church, are *notorious* to all such as have the least Acquaintance with our *English* Records.

IN the Year 1593, the Estates of England were again assembled in *Parliament* at *Westminster*; Who taking into their Consideration the Bent of the Enemies to work the Destruction of England, by suppressing its Confederates in France, Scotland, and the Low-Countries, and the great Expence Her Majesty had been at, not only in defending her own Kingdoms, but also in JUSTLY relieving her Confederates according to Contract; they with most thankful Hearts granted, the CLERGY two entire Subsidies, and the Laity three, with six Fifteenths and Tenths †. Here again, we have the *Convocation* and *Parliament*, the Representatives of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, declaring, in the most publick solemn manner, That *Qui. Elizabeth* did JUSTLY in relieving her Confederates, [*the Dutch-Men*] for Mr. *Cambden* assures us, that these are the very Words of the Act of *Parliament* ‡. Whereas, had they looked upon that *Resistance*, which these Men made to their Natural King, to be a Damnable Rebellion, the *aiding* and *assisting* of them in such an Enterprize, would have been a most Barbarous Injustice. And the Clergy would have been guilty of a most inexcusable Prevarication, in approving a known Injury; but if they had

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¶ *D^e Ewe's Journal of Parliaments, &c. p. 387* * *Vid.*
Cambdens Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 288 † *Ibid. p. 469*
‡ *Ibid. p. 468*

any thing of Sincerity in them, as I hope and believe they had, they must be *Strangers* to Mr. Agate's slavish Doctrine.

I have one Remark more to make on this *Parliament*; It was so far from being a *puritanical Assembly*, that this is the *very Parliament* which made that severe Law, which inflicts *Death or Banishment* on those who *absent* themselves from the Service of the *Church* for a *Months Time*, and will not *recant* their *Nonconformity*. I hope the *Authors* of such an Act may pass for *true Sons of the Church*, and yet these *very Gentlemen* gave Large supplies to enable the *Dutch* to *resist* their own Prince.

THE Instances I have given are a Demonstration that Mr Agate's *Notions* were not the *standing Doctrines* of the *Church* during Q. Elizabeth's Glorious and Triumphant Reign.

TO Q. Elizabeth succeeded King James the First in 1602, who delighted to be called a *pacifick King*; and a little after his access to the *Throne* made Peace with the King of *Spain*: However, he still maintained a fair Correspondence with the *revolted Hollanders*; and as they had put into the Hands of Queen Elizabeth the strong Fortresses of the *Brill, Flushing, and Ramechins*, as Cautionary Towns for the Money she had lent them; so King James kept them Garrisoned with *English Soldiers* till the Year 1616, when he delivered them up to the *States-General* *. Whereas, had he looked upon the *resisting Dutch-men* as involved in the Guilt of a Damnable Rebellion, he ought in *Conscience* and *Honour* to have surrendered them to the King of *Spain*, their rightful Owner.

I find it affirmed by an unexceptionable Historian, That the *chiefest Strength* of the *United Provinces* consisted in *English and Scottish Soldiers*, who were in their *Army* †; this was in the Year 1607 ‡, when King James had been several Years possessed of the *English Crown*. An Argument that the *British Subjects* were permitted to *List* themselves in the *Dutch Service*, which I hope our *Government* would not have allowed of, had they looked upon this as the *aiding* and *abetting* a pack of *Rebels*, and the hardening them in a DAMNING SIN.

IN the Year 1609, I find mention of 4000 *English*, commanded by Sir Edward Cecil at the *Siege* of *Juliers*, assisting the *Dutch* in the recovery of that Town out of the *Spaniards* Hands;

* Heylins *Cosmography*, Edit. 2d, p. 385
 § Glou's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, p. 373
 369.

† Bentivo-
 ‡ Ibid. page

Hands*; and in the Year 1624, four *English* Regiments of Foot, of 1500 Men each, were sent into *Holland*, to countenance the same *Resisters* †. One of the *Collonels* commanding these Regiments was the Lord *Willoughby*, since Earl of *Lindsey*, who was so far from being a *Puritan* or a *Roundhead*, that he was King *Charles* his General in our late Civil War, and lost his Life whilest fighting under the Royal Banner ‡.

ABOUT this time there were Commotions in *France*, and the Duke de *Soubise*, one of the Protestants Generals, being routed, made a shift to escape into *England*; and though he failed in his Attempt of perswading King *James* publicly to espouse their Quarrel, yet the *French* Historian assures us, That he was so much favoured by the *English* in general, that they gave him such considerable Succours as enabled him to lade ten or a dozen Vessels with all sorts of Necessaries for the Relief of *Rochel*, at that time Besieged by the King's Forces ||. It can hardly be conceived, that this Preparation should be made without the Connivance of our Court. I must leave the Reader to judge, whether the Instances produced are not a Demonstration, that Mr *Agate*'s slavish Doctrine was a Stranger in the Gates of *English-men*, during the Reign of King *James*.

TO him succeeded K. *Charles* the First, in the Year 1625, who being disgusted with the *Spaniard*, resolved upon a War with that Crown; but having dissolved his Parliament abruptly, (who were willing to supply him in a Legal Way) because they clashed with his mighty Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, his ill-advised Council perswaded him to raise Money by way of *Loan*; that is, particular Men had Privy-Seals sent to them, requiring them to Lend the King such sums of Money as his Commissioners thought them capable of sparing. This had a harsh sound in the Ears of free-born *English-men*, and therefore, that they might be charmed into a Compliance, his Majesty was advised to tune the *Pulpits*, as Dr *Heylin* calls it; and accordingly Instructions were ordered to be drawn up, in order to be communicated to all the *Bishops* and *Clergy* in *England*, according to which they were to govern themselves in recommending this *Loan* unto their people. The person appointed to prepare these Instructions was Bishop *Laud*, and I hope Mr *Agate* will pronounce him a true *Church-man*. This Task he performed to the Satisfaction of the Court, amongst other

* *History of England*, Vol. 2, p. 683

† *Ibid.* p. 787

‡ *Ibid.* p. 790

|| *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, Tome 2d, liv. 8.

other Arguments to excite the *Generosity* of the *Subjects*, the Necessity of putting a Check to the growing Greatness of the *House of Austria* and *King of Spain*, who had over-run almost all *Germany*, was principally insisted on; *Nor can it be thought* (say these Instructions) *the Low-Countries can HOLD OUT LONG AGAINST Him, if he once become Lord of the upper parts* *. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* had at this time been struggling hard against the *Spanish Power* for more than 40 Years, with little Intermiſſion. And our *Bishops* and *Clergy* were so far from thinking them guilty of a *Damning Sin*, that they exhorted their people to a *Liberal Contribution*, to enable them to *hold out long*, or, in other Terms, to persevere in that *Resistance* which they were then making to their *Hereditary Monarch*. It is further worthy our Observation, that *Sybothorp*, *Manwaring*, and the *Laudean Faction*, were most Zealous to promote this *Loan*, whilst the *Puritans* and *Low-Churchmen* were more on the Reserve, as disliking the *Arbitrary Methods* made use of, in raising Money without Consent of Parliament.

A little after this a War broke out betwixt *England* and *France*, at the same time the *Reformed* in that Kingdom having received *Encouragement* from hence, and seeing the most solemn Treaties violated by their *prfidious Enemies*, endeavoured to re-establish their Affairs by force of Arms: Upon this the *King of France* laid Siege to *Rochel*, a populous and wealthy City, and so prodigiously strong, that the Enemy could not reduce it but by Starving it into a Surrender. During this siege, the *English* made great preparations to relieve the Town, and several Fleets were sent out to that purpose, though all without effect. The Bishop of *Sarum* tells us, *I hat in the Year 1628, during the siege of Rochel, there was a publick Fast appointed upon that Account over England; and the Besieged were prayed for as our Brethren, and SUCCESS to them was by that Form prayed for: I have* (says his Lordship) *the Form of Prayer* †. We are told by a *French Historian*, that whilst the *English Fleet* lay before the Town, the *French King* did, in his own person, every Day visit those *prodigious Works* which were built a good way out in the Sea,

* Heylins *Life of A-bp. Laud*, p. 163
Sarum's Vindication, &c. p. 70

† *The Bishop of*

Sea, to hinder any succours from being thrown into it †. The *Rochellers* at that time did certainly *resist* their King, if *shooting of Musquets* and *firing of Cannon* against him and his Army may deserve that term; and yet all the *Bishops* and *Clergy* of *England* did beg of *God* to give them *Success* in this very Enterprize. Certainly, if our *Words* and *Thoughts* should at any time harmonize, tis when we lye prostrate before the Supreme *Majesty*, that *God* who sees the secret Springs and Principles, by which we are moved, and whose *Eyes* can penetrate the dark Recesses of *Humane Souls*. Did our *Clergy* look upon these *Resisters* engaged in a *Damning Sin*, when they prayed *God* to SUCCEED them in it? This would be such a cursed *Hypocrisy*, such a *prophane Mocking* with the *Almighty*, that we cannot in *Charity* or *Justice* accuse them of it.

TO King *Charles* the First succeeded his Son of the same Name, during whose Reign the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* were recommended in some Pulpits as so many Articles of Faith.

HOWEVER, though the *Courtiers* encouraged the preaching up this Doctrine for *Reasons of State*; yet I think it may be demonstrated, that those who sat at the Helm did not themselves believe one Word of it; and that by their own Conduct in Relation to other *Kingdoms*. Some Years before the *Restoration*, the *Portuguese* revolted from the *King of Spain*, to whom they had sworn Allegiance, and to whose Ancestors they had been subject for 60 Years successively, having shaken off the *Spanish* Yolk, they advanced *John* Duke of *Braganza* to the Throne, and invested him with the Royal Purple.

IN the Year 1662, King *Charles* 2d married the Princess *Catharine*, Daughter of King *John* lately deceased, and sent over a stout Band of *English* Soldiers to the Assistance of his New Relations *, by whose Valour and Resolution the *Spanish* Armies were entirely defeated, and the *House of Braganza* established in the Throne.

IF it be said, That in this Instance, the *English* did only assist the right Heir against an Usurper, I have these two things to offer:

I. IN

† *Sa Majeste n'en passa pas un jour, qu'elle ne Visitast la Digue, & tous les Travaux, &c. Jean de Serres Inventaire general de l'Histoire de France, p. 1063. * Hist. of Portugal, p. 503, 509, &c.*

1. IN the Year 1580, *Henry* King of *Portugal* having no Issue, and foreseeing that after his decease there would be several Competitors for the *Crown*, (of whom *Philip* 2d, King of *Spain*, his Sisters Son, was one) with the consent of his *Cortes*, or Parliament, appointed a Committee of *Lawyers* and *Statesmen*, to govern the Kingdom upon his Death, and declare the Right of Succession. All persons were sworn to stand to the Determination of these Judges, and the Duke of *Braganza* amongst the rest *. A little after this, King *Henry* died, and some time before his Death, declared himself publicly for K. *Philip* †. After his decease, the Governours gave their *Definitive Sentence in favour of the said King* ‡; And the *Duchess of Braganza* (from whom the present Kings of *Portugal* do claim) *surrendred also all her Interest and Pretensions to him* §. And all this was followed by a peaceable possession of the Kingdom for 60 Years successively by the said *Philip*, his Son and Grandson Kings of *Spain*. I must leave it to the *Civilians*, and *Dealers in Politicks*, whether all this will not give a Valid Title.

2. BUT supposing the King of *Spain* to be never so much an *U'rper*, yet the Family of *Braganza* (for whom our *English* fought) were not the next Heirs to the *Crown*, nor could they claim it by virtue of the Right Line of Succession. The Duke of *Braganza* was descended from *Catharine*, second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, fourth Son to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. On the other hand, the Dukes of *Parma* are descended from *Mary* Eldest Daughter to the said *Edward* ¶. And every person knows, that the Posterity of the *Elder* Daughter ought to inherit before that of the *Younger*; so that King *Charles* and his Church of *England* Council (for I hope Mr *Agate* will allow that Character to the Earl of *Clarendon*, at that time prime Minister) did aid and assist the *Portuguese*, in setting up and maintaining a King of their own chusing, who was not the next Heir to the *Crown* in the Right Line of Succession †. This is Matter of Fact, and undeniable.

IN 1656 died *John* King of *Portugal*, leaving behind him two sons, *Alphonso* and *Peter*, both Minors, under the Tutition of their Mother the *Queen Regent*. In 1663, King *Alphonso*, the Elder, took the Reins of Government into his own Hands; but being of an extravagant Humour, and guilty of some

* *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 352 † *Ibid.* p. 353 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 357
 § *Heylins Cosmography*, Edit. 2. p. 279. ¶ *Ib.* p. 280. † *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 563.

some unaccountable odd Actions, which I believe were aggravated by his Enemies, to make him Odious. He was deposed by the *Assembly of Estates* in 1568, and condemned to a *perpetual Imprisonment*; whilst his Younger Brother *Peter* was made Regent of the Kingdom, and at last King *.

IN this mighty *Revolution* (which was far from being so *Just* or *Necessary* as that in *Great Britain* some 20 Years ago) the *King of England* was one of the first who *acknowledged* the *New Regent*; and by the Interposition of his Ambassadors, the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir *Robert Southwell*, a Peace was presently concluded between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; 'His *Britannick Majesty* being declared the Mediator and 'Guarantee of it †. So that if the *Spaniard* should have attempted to restore King *Alfonso* to his former Dignity, the *English*, by virtue of this *Guarantee*, stood obliged to assist the Prince Regent against his deposed Sovereign and Elder Brother: This is a Demonstration, that the prime Managers in King *Charles* his Reign, who encouraged the Preaching up the *absolute Unlawfulness of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever*, did never intend to govern themselves by such a rigid Maxim. This is further evident by their Demeanour towards his Brother and Successor,

K. *James* the 2d, whose Zeal for Popery, and Love of Arbitrary Power, tempted him to make large Breaches in the *Constitution* of the Kingdom, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*: Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was invited over, who came with a well-appointed Army, and being assisted by all sorts of people, the late *Revolution* did ensue. But how is this reconcileable with Mr. *Agate's* *Notions*? *Our Adversaries* (says this *Eccho* of *Sacheverell* in his Declamation on *January* 30th) *object to us the late Revolution; but the Prince himself has answered this, for he declared against Resistance*. Certainly this Gentleman must have a very Contemptible Opinion of his own *Auditory*, when he supposes them so despicably credulous to believe his idle Rant before their own Eyes. Are there not Thousands still living within the Walls, who saw those armed Legions which passed through the City; who saw the Church-yard crowded with Canons and Mortars, and the River covered with Ships full of Warlike Stores and Ammunition? And can any of these be so abandoned of Common Reason, as to imagine, that the *Prince* intended no Opposition to King

C

James's

* *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 563.
England, Vol. 3. p. 270.

† *Ibid.* p. 564. *History of*

James's Forces? Besides, had he declared against *Resistance*, as Mr. *Agate* most foolishly and falsely affirms, would any *Gentlemen* have joyned him, to be sacrificed to the *Resentments* of a *Bigotted Prince*, and that without Remedy? Would any have Lifted under his Banner to be cut in pieces without *Resistance*? A Man must first shake Hands with *Humanity* it self, before such a senseless Imagination can find any Harbour in his Bosom.

'TIS true, the *Prince* declared, that he came not to conquer and enslave the *Nation*, as was suggested by his Enemies; Nor can it be imagined (says his Highness) that those who have invited us, can join in a wicked Attempt of Conquest, to make void their own Lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and interests *. The plain meaning of which is only this, that his Design was not to make us *Vassals* to the *Dutch*, and divide the *Gentlemens Estates* amongst his own *Troopers*, as *William* surnamed the Conqueror had done. But that he should declare against resisting King *James* and his Ministers, who were at that time the *Highest Powers* in the Nation, this is a groundless Fiction, and I fear a premeditated wilful Falshood.

THE Truth on't is, though the very word *Resistance* be not found in his Declaration, yet there be other Expressions which do necessarily suppose and infer it. In his First Declaration, dated Octob. 10. having enumerated those Grievances in Church and State which he came over to redress, He invited and required all Persons whatsoever to come and ASSIST him, in order to the executing his Design, AGAINST all such as should endeavour to OPPOSE him †. And tis impossible this should be done without resisting such Opposers. In a Second Declaration, which disclaims a Design of Conquest, His Highness thus expresses himself: After we had printed our Declaration, we have understood that the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of these Kingdoms, hearing of our Preparations to ASSIST the People AGAINST them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary Powers that they had assumed--- The Sense of their Guilt, and a Distrust of their Force, have induced them to offer to the City of London some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions ‡. Now it was King *James*, who had sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen

* *Hist. of England*, Vol. 3. p. 493.

† Ibid.

dermen of London, when terrified with the Noise of an Invasion, and told them with his own Mouth, *That he would restore their Ancient Charters to them* *. 'Twas he and his Council who had retracted their *Arbitrary Powers* in relation to the *Bishop of London*, and *Magdalen-Colledge*. These are the *Subverters* of whom the *Prince* speaks, and he declares to all the World, *That he came to assist the People of England against them*. But how could this be done *without* relinishing those *Oppressors*? Should the *Queen's General in Spain* declare, that he was sent over by his Mistress to *assist* the well-affected people against the Duke of *Anjou* and his Faction; is not this the same thing as to declare *for Resistance* against the said *Duke*? The same must be said in relation to the *Prince of Orange*.

ADD to all this, that *Mens Intentions* may be as fully declared by their *Actions* as by their *Words*: When His *Highness* brought over an Army of 14000 Men, this was a more full and ample Declaration of his Design to awe King *James* into a Compliance, than any Words that he was capable of using. Beside, there was *Resistance* actually made by his *Troops* at *Wincanton* and *Reading*, where several Men were killed and wounded †: And when he came near *London*, the *Dutch Guards* marched through *St. James's Park*, with *lighted Match*, and in a *fighting posture*, in order to relieve the *Posts* at *White-Hall* ‡; and would have cut King *James* his *Guards* in pieces had they not dislodged, or lost their own *Lives* in the Attempt.

AFTER all this, what can we think of this *Gentleman*, who in *Defiance* to this *Notoriety of Fact*, durst tell his Congregation, *That the Prince of Orange declared against Resistance*? Nothing can be more Astonishing than the *Confidence* of such a *Disclaimer*, unless it be the incorrigible *Silliness* of those, who are resolved to believe his *Furious Rants* before their own *Sense* and *Reason*.

UPON this Occasion, it may not be amiss to consider what was said and done by our *Nobles* and *Gentry*, who Invited over the *Prince*, and who acted in Concert with him when he came. One of the chief of these was the *Earl* (afterwards *Duke*) of *Devonshire*, who with divers of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* Rendezvouz'd at *Nottingham*, where they subscribed a *Declaration*, in which they thus exprest themselves: *We*

* *Hist. of England*, Vol. 3. p. 490 † *Ibid.* p. 498, 499
 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 503

own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law; but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to RESIST such an One we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a Necessary Defence, &c. * A few Days after this, the Princess of Denmark, (now our most Gracious Queen) the present Bishop of London, with others of the First Rank, retired to Nottingham, and actually joined those Gentlemen, who declared their Resolution to resist in the most express and formal manner †. Fain would I ask our profound Casuist, Whether the Princess and Bishop were guilty of a Damning Sin in that Affair? For he must necessarily condemn his Doctrine or his Sovereign.

WHILST the Prince was in Exeter, he was joined by the Gentlemen of the Eastern Counties, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir William Portman, Col. Lutterel, with many others of great Estate and Interest, who were never in their Lives suspected of Whiggism, much less of Fanaticism: These Gentlemen entered into an Association, in which they did engage to God, and one another, that if any Attempts were made upon His Highness's Person, we will pursue (say they) not only those that made them, but all their Adherents, and all we find in Arms against us, with the utmost severity of just REVENGE in their Ruin and Destruction ‡. Certainly this is declaring for Resistance with a Vengeance.

ABOUT the same time the Lord Lovelace, coming with a Train of Gentlemen to joyn the Prince, was intercepted and taken prisoner at Cirencester; but not before he had resisted unto Blood, there being Ten or Twelve Men killed in the Scuffle ||.

During these Transactions, the Cittadel of Plymouth was secured for the Prince, the Earl of Huntington, and others, who had King James's Commission, being made prisoners. The Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise forced the Duke of Beaufort to surrender to them the City of Bristol |||. The Earl of Danby (now Duke of Leeds) wrested York out of the Hands of the Duke of New-Castle. Hull was surprized by Col. Copley, and the Governour made a prisoner ||||. And to conclude all, the two Arch-bps. Sancroft and Lamplugh, the Bps. of Winchester, St. Asaph, Ely, Rochester, and Peterborough,

* History of K. Will. 3d, V. 1, p. 368

† Ibid. p. 369.

‡ History of England, V. 3, p. 496

|| History of K. Will. 3.

V. 1, p. 358

|||| Ibid. p. 367

||||| Ibid. p. 368

borough, met at the *Guild-Hall, London*, with several Temporal Lords, where they declared for the Prince of Orange; telling the *Lord-Mayor and Aldermen*, That he had undertaken to rescue them from Popery and Slavery *. Which how it could be done without resisting such as would enslave them, is hard to be conceived. They also turned *Col. Skelton*, who had *K. James's* Commission to be *Lieutenant of the Tower*, out of his place, and put the *Lord Lucas* in his room †. If *Mr Agate* will consult our Law-Books, or Lawyers, they will tell him, That the holding a *Fort or Castle* against the *King*, [much more then the wresting of them out of his Hands,] is a *Levying War* against him ‡. And sure, the *levying War* against the *King* is *resisting* of him, if there be any such thing in Nature. And this is what *A-bp. Sancroft*, with many of his Brethren, were guilty of, and that before the *Abdication*. But will *Mr. Agate* therefore pronounce them to be no true Church-men? This may serve for a Specimen of what was done and said by the Prince of Orange, and his Adherents.

IF it be demanded, *Whether our English Clergy were merely passive in that great Turn of Affairs?* We are assured of the contrary by *Dr. Atterbury*, Dean of *Carlisle*, against whose Testimony *Mr Agate* durst make no Exception. Speaking of the Lords of the *Articles* in *Scotland*, he tells us, 'This was thought a Badge of Slavery by the *Scotch*; and therefore, towards the beginning of this *Revolution*, when the Chains were knocked off every where from His Majesties Subjects, this Committee was abolished. And had the *English* Clergy then lain under any undue Restrain, they too might have hoped for a Relief from it, as soon as any Men; since none had been more Instrumental than they in *PRO-MOTING* the *Common Deliverance* †. But how did they promote it? Was it by preaching up *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*? By telling people, that 'twas not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against their Lawful King, or those that were Commissioned by him? And that they that did so should receive to themselves *Damnation*? Had this Doctrine been preached and believed then, instead of knocking off the *Nations Chains*, it would have rivetted them the faster on us; and *King James*, with one Troop of his dear *Irish-Jays*, might have cut the Throats of all such as stood in the

* *History of England*, V. 3, p. 520

† *Ibid.* p. 501

‡ *Mr. Hales Plea of the Crown*, p. 14

† *His Rights, &c.*

of an *Eng. Convocation*, &c. Edit. 2. p. 392

the Gap, to prevent a Deluge of Popery and Slavery from breaking in upon us.

THAT Learned *Dean* who gives us this Account of the *Clergies* Conduct, wrote a Book in the last Reign, to prove that, according to our *present Constitution*, the *Convocation* has a Right of *meeting* and *sitting*, as often as a New *Parliament* is summoned, as also of Deliberating about Ecclesiastical Affairs, without License under the *Great Seal*. He urges, amongst other things, 'That the *Convocation*, sitting with the *Parliament*, might be useful to the State, as well as to the Church; that so they [the *Lower House of Convocation*,] may be in Heart, and always at Hand, to stand up with them, [the *House of Commons*,] in behalf of Liberty, when it shall be attacked, and to RESIST a growing Tyranny either in Church or State, as it may happen. For Arbitrary Government is a spreading and contagious thing *. I don't think there is any *Doctor* in England subtil enough to let us know, how we may resist Tyranny, without resisting the Tyrant: Which is all that Mr. Hoadly, or any of his principles contend for. From the general Approbation that this Book hath met with amongst the *Clergy*, I may reasonably infer, that seeing one great Use of a *Convocation* is to resist Tyrants, that therefore the *Clergy* cannot look upon all Resistance to be unlawful; for sure they cannot be fond of a Liberty to damn their own souls, nor yet be angry when they are denied it.

IF we cross over into *Ireland*, to see how Affairs were managed there, tis known to all the World how *Londonderry* defended it self against King James in person, the Garrison being commanded by Mr. Walker, a Clergyman. In the Year 1690, King William, Prince George, abundance of the Nobility and Gentry, with a gallant Army, were waisted over into that Kingdom, where, on July 1st, they fought that memorable Battle at the *Boyne*, when King James, who commanded the *Irish* Army in his own person, was entirely defeated, and so driven out of all his Dominions †. I kope Mr Agate will allow this to be a resisting of him. I have now by me the Form of Prayer that was used March 12th 1689, being a publick Fast-Day, appointed, To implore God's Blessing in the preservation of His Majesties sacred person, and the prosperity of

* *Rights of Convocation*, Ed. 2d, p. 137; Note, thro' the Printer's Error, there be in this Book two pages marked 137, at a little distance, my Quotation is in the first.

† *History of England*, Vol. 3, p. 558, &c.

of his Arms in Ireland. There is one Collect bearing this Title, *A prayer for the King, to be constantly used during His Majesties Expedition*: In which are these Expressions, 'Almighty and most Gracious GOD, who hast been pleased to raise up thy Servant King William---- Vouchsafe thy Gracious Presence with him throughout his Expedition; cover his Head in the Day of Battle; ble's him with VICTORY and all good SUCCESS; bring him back in safety, to our Comfort, &c. So that whilst our English Soldiers were shooting their Musquets and firing their Cannon against King James and his Army, all the Clergy in England, except the Nonjurors, were at the same time begging God to give them Victory and Success in that very Enterprize. If they believed this Resistance Lawful, then Mr. Agate's slavish Principles were not the Doctrine of the Church at that time: If they thought it Unlawful, how could they pray to God for its success? This would be such a scandalous Hypocrisy, that I cannot be so Uncharitable as to accuse them of it.

NAY, to this very Day, God is praised in the Church of England, for the successful Expedition of the Prince of Orange. Since the Year 1693, some Additions have been made to the Forms of Prayer used on the Fifth of November, and in the Communion Service of that Day there is this Expression: *We bless thee for giving his late Majesty [King William] a safe Arrival here, and for making all OPPOSITION fall before him, till he became our King and Governour.* I hope it will not be pretended that there was Opposition without Resistance, or that there could be Opposition on one part, without any on the other. Mr. Agate has told the World in print, that Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever is an accursed Principle*. And yet this very same Gentleman can publicly bless God, for sending over the Prince of Orange to resist King James, and making all Opposition fall before him. See! see here the Conscience, Honour and Sincerity of a High Flyer! And what little Reason he has to object Occasional Conformity to other people! See here the Blessed Harmony betwixt the Principles and Prayers of that Faction, which has filled the Nation with Uproars and Tumults!

There is one Whimsy more which Mr. Agate made use of on January 30. as well as at other times, to perswade his credulous Disciples, that the True Sons of the Church did not resist King James, and that is, *That he voluntarily Abdicated the Throne.* As if he, good Man! were so tired with the

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* More Plain Truth, p. 6.

Weight of a Crown, that he was very willing to throw that Burden upon his Son-in-law : For this is the sense this *Gentleman* would put upon the word *Abdication*. But can any Man in his Wits believe, that that Unfortunate Prince was really *willing* to relinquish Three Flourishing Kingdoms, with a standing Revenue of Two Millions a Year, to be a Pensioner to the *French King*, and depend upon a Strangers Courtesy for his subsistence ? On the other Hand, did he not write Letters to the Privy-Council, to both Houses of Parliament in *England* and *Scotland* ; in all which he manifested his great Desire to Return, and laid Claim to the Allegiance of his *quondam* Subjects *. But I can hardly think any Man so void of Reason as to imagine, that King *James* left his Dominions with a full Consent of Will.

I confess, that it was voted by the *Convention*, That he had *Abdicated the Government* : But as the word *Abdicate* was seldom made use of before that time, and it being first introduced by the *Lower House*, tis all the Reason in the World we should have recourse to them, to understand the *meaning* of it, and in what *sense* they took it.

THE *Lords* and *Commons* had several Conferences about this very Word ; the Managers for the latter were Mr. *Sommers*, at this Day *Lord President* of Her Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council, and *Serjeant Holt*, late Lord Chief-Justice of the *Queens-Bench* : Both Men of Renown and Eminence, upon the account of their great Abilities. But let us hear the Interpretation which they have given : ‘ The word *Abdicate* (says the first of these great Men) signifies entirely ‘ to renounce, throw off, disown, relinquish any thing, whether it be done by Words, or in Writing, or by doing such ‘ Acts as are inconsistent with the holding or retaining of the ‘ thing ; which the *Commons* take to be the present Case †. Concluding his Learned Oration in these Words : ‘ By avowing ‘ to Govern by a *Despotick Power*, unknown to the Constitution, and inconsistent with it, he (*King James*) hath renounced to be a King according to the Law, such a King as ‘ he swore to be at the Coronation, such a King to whom the ‘ Allegiance of an *English* Subject is due ; and hath set up another kind of Dominion, which is to all Intents an *Abdication*, or Abandoning of his Royal Title, as fully as if it had ‘ been done by Express Words ‡.

TO

* *Hist. of K. Will. V. 1. Appendix p. 17*
Vol. 3. p. 511

† *Ibid.* 512

‡ *Hist. of Engl.*

TO the same purpose the late Lord Chief-Justice delivered himself in that Famous Conference: *If your Lordships (says he) mean a voluntary express Act, or formal Deed of Renunciation, I confess I know of none in this Case. Your Lordships may please to observe, the Government and Magistracy is under a Trust, and any acting contrary to that Trust is a renouncing of the Trust, though it be not a renouncing by formal Deed; for it is a plain Declaration by Act and Deed, though not in Writing, that he, who hath the Trust, acting contrary, is a Disclaimor of the Trust. This is so plain (says he) that I need no more but repeat it, and leave it with your Lordships, that the doing an Act inconsistent with the Being and End of a Thing, or that shall not answer the End of that Thing, but quite the contrary, that shall be construed an Abdication and formal Renunciation of that Thing*.*

THIS was the Interpretation given by the Commons, and in this the Lords acquiesced. And by this it is evident, that by King James's Abdication the Parliament did not mean a voluntary Relinquishing, or willing Resignation of his Crown; but his taking those Courses which were destructive of the very Ends of Government, and inconsistent with the Trust reposed in him as the Supreme Magistrate. And had they intended any thing further by that *Vote*, they had made themselves Ridiculous in the Eyes of all Mankind. And so much for King William.

TO him succeeded her present Majesty, and that upon the Revolution-Bottom; who is so far from desiring to make Her Subjects Slaves, that it has been the great Design of Her Triumphant Reign to knock off those Chains, which the Mighty Nimrod on t'other side the Water hath been endeavouring to rivet upon his own Subjects, as well as on his Neighbours. There was scarce any thing made a greater Noise in the World, a few Years ago, than the Insurrection of the Protestants in the Cevennes, a Mountainous Countrey in the South Part of France: Who being harra's'd and worn out by the intolerable Vexations of the Popish Clergy, and their Adherents, took Arms, and stood upon their Guard against their inhumane bloody Persecutors. And being befriended by those difficult and narrow Passes, which gave access to their craggy Habitations, they defended themselves against the French King's

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Troops

* Hist. of England, Vol. 3. p. 512.

Troops with unparallel'd Bravery, and for some time with astonishing Success. If we consult the *Annals of Queen Anne*, we shall find, that during these Commotions, it was resolved by *Her Majesty and Council*, That since all Ways to relieve the Cevenois were shut up by Land, the Fleet that was to go into the Mediterranean, under the Command of Admiral Shovel, should endeavour to carry them a Supply of Arms, Ammunition and Money *. Accordingly several French Refugees were sent into France, to acquaint these poor oppressed People with the Queen's good Intentions. But being for the most part intercepted, they could not deliver their Message. Only Mr. David Flotard had the good Fortune to return safe, after he had staid six whole Days among the Cevenois, 'And 'acquainted them with the Signals that the English Fleet 'would make, and how they should answer them by other 'Signals †. The Measures being concerted, there were 3 French Gentlemen sent on Board the English Fleet, to be Witnesses of the Queen's good Intentions to relieve their Brethren. In order hereunto, the Admiral detached two Men of War from the main Body, the *Pembroke* and the *Tartar*, with a good Quantity of Arms, Ammunition and Money; who entered the Gulf of *Narbonne*, and approaching as near to the Shore as they were able, 'They there made the Signals, as they 'were directed from Court, under the LORD NOTTING- 'HAM's OWN HAND ‡. But the Signals were not answered by the *Camisars*, for the French Court, having Intelligence of their Design, had taken effectual Measures to prevent it.

I hope Mr. *Agate* will allow the Noble Peer just now mentioned to be a true Son of the Church; I am therefore very willing to be informed by him, Whether that Lord, with the rest of *Her Majesties Council*, were guilty of a Damning Sin, when they did all that possibly they could to *abet, support and aid* those very Persons, who were then defending themselves against their Persecuting Monarch, and his Bloody Agents?

IN the Year 1706, A Resolution was taken by the Queen of Great-Britain and the States-General to distress the common Enemy, and attempt the reducing his Exorbitant Power, by making a Descent on the French Coasts; to this end a fine Body of Troops, with a vast quantity of Arms and

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* *Annals of Q. Anne*, V. 2. p. 11.

† *Ibid.* p. 102.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 104.

Ammunition were embarked, under the Command of the Earl of Rivers. But the Fleet lying Wind-bound for two Months in Torbay, and the Winter season advancing, that Expedition was laid aside, and the Forces otherwise employed. However, we have upon Record the *Manifesto* intended to be publish'd by the Earl of Rivers upon his Landing on the French Coasts, in which are these following Expressions---- *We therefore make known by these presents, That the High Allies have no manner of Purpose to make Conquests, or commit Devastations; but, on the contrary, that they design to employ their Forces, only for the Protection of such of the French Nation, as shall take up ARMS, in Order to restore the Parliaments of the said Nation, the Nobility and People to their Ancient Rights, and make those of the Reformed Religion, enjoy the Priviledges stipulated by the Edict of Nants.---- For these Reasons We most earnestly exhort all those whose Heart is truly French, and wish to see their Country deliver'd from the hard Slavery in which it has groan'd for so many Years past, to improve the Opportunity that now offers, by JOYNING themselves with the Troops of the High Allies ** : This Manifesto was drawn up by the Order of Her Majesty, with an intent to be publish'd in France had not the Design been disappointed.

UPON this I would willingly be inform'd by Mr. Agate what he will pronounce of the Queen and Her Council, and whether he will allow them to be Members of the Church of England? For certainly they would never have invited and encouraged the poor Protestants in France, and others of that Nation to defend themselves against the Violences and Cruelties of their grand Oppressor, had they look'd upon Non-Resistance in that Absolute and Unlimited Sense, in which 'tis preach'd up by Mr. Agate, to be an indispensable Duty. Did they look upon all Arms in a Subjects Hands to be unlawful, besides Prayers and Tears, when they sent 'em over Swords and Musquets? If the taking up of Arms in Defence of their Religious and Civil Liberties be a damning Sin, then they that prompt them to, and assist them in it, must be the Authors of their Ruine, and the Causes of their Damnation. But will the Gentleman draw up so black a Charge as this against his Sovereign? I never heard that any of our Bishops did ever remonstrate to Her Majesty, that Her Design to relieve the

* Appendix to the Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. 5. p. 72.

poor Hugonots in such a manner, was a Conspiracy against *Christ's Laws*, and destructive to the Souls of Men.

THUS have I made good the *Province* I undertook, and demonstrated, That in every *Reign* the most *Eminent* Members of the *Church of England* have, in Cases of *extreme Necessity*, allow'd Subjects to defend their *Liberties* and *Religion* against the unjust *Invasions* of their own *natural Princes*: In performing of which Task, I have only acted the part of an *Historian*, Nor do I think my self obliged to *Vindicate* every Matter of Fact I have related, only I beg the *Reader* to take Notice, that the *Authors* I have produc'd are of a most established *Reputation*, not like those *Grubstreet Pamphleteers* who have furnished my *Adversary* with so much *Scandal*, and who are ashamed to set their *Names* to their own *Libels*. By what I have produc'd it plainly appears, either that those rigid *Notions*, of which I have been speaking, were not the standing *Doctrines* of true *Churchmen*, or else that they never practised their own *Doctrine*, and Mr. *Agate* shall take his Choice.

'TIS insinuated, indeed by such as have a mind to foment *Jealousies*, and create *Divisions* in the *Nation*, that the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* do embrace *Republican Principles*, and would fain reduce the *British Monarchy* to a new fangled *Commonwealth*. But is there any real Ground for such a *Calumny*? Not the least shadow of a *Reason* as far as I can see. I have proved in a former *Treatise*, that both the *English* and *Scottish Presbyterians* did earnestly protest against the Subversion of the *Government* by *Cromwel*, and did contribute their good Offices to restore the *Royal Family*. But we have a fresher instance, which must silence this *Obloquy*, would Men but act as becomes *Reasonable Creatures*. When King *James* broke the *Original Contract*, and left the Kingdom, this Question was strenuously debated in the *House of Peers*; *Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent or a King*? If the Reader consults the *Records* of that Time, he will find those Noble *Peers* arguing for a *Regent*, who are at this Day look'd upon as at the greatest Distance from *Whigish Principles*, 'And of all the [then] *Bishops* none but those of *London* and *Bristol* were for a King *.' As for the *House of Commons*, I find the late Sr. *Edward Seymour* at the Head of those *Devonshire Gentlemen*, who Voted for a *Regent* †. On the other hand

* *Appendix to Hist. of King William. Vol. I. p. 21.* † *Ibid. p. 61.*

hand, the *Low Churchmen* and *Dissenters* were unanimous for a King. Yet see now the Modesty of our *High-Flyers*! that very Party which were against filling up the Vacant Throne with a *Monarch*, will pretend forsooth to be the only Friends to *Monarchy*. Whilest those who were hearty and zealous for a King, must be stigmatized with the odious Name of *Republicans*, and Enemies to the *Kingly Government*. This is a Mystery I am not able to unriddle, unless it be, that they who have a mind to get themselves *In* by turning others *Out*, must offer something that is *Popular*, though they know it to be *false*. So much I am certain of, that I may avouch for all the *Dissenters* of my Acquaintance, and believe for all others, that they look upon a mixt *Monarchy*, as ours is, to be the Best *Form of Government* in the whole World.

'TIS objected further by our *Passive Obedience Men*, That the Whigs and Dissenters pretend a Power of calling their Sovereign to Account for every Mismanagement, and to have recourse to Arms on every frivolous Pretext. But these are Principles we do as much detest and abhor as Mr. *Agate*. We count no Curses, no Execrations too bitter for him who shall involve the Nation in Blood and Confusion, because his Ambitious Expectations are not gratified, or even because there may be some Mistakes in Government. We look upon *Magistrates* as *God's Vicegerents* upon Earth, and that they ought to be Respected and Obeyed by us in Lawful Things. We think nothing but extreme Necessity can justify Resistance to them. I have been certainly informed, That even Dr. *Sacheverell's* Counsel did acknowledge, at the Bar of the Lords, That in such Cases 'twas lawful for Subjects to resist, and that this was the Case of the Late Revolution. And I know no Dissenter that pleads for more than what these Learned Gentlemen have granted on that Head.

WHAT I object to Mr. *Agate*, is his affirming in the Pulpit, That though a Prince should endeavour to bring in POPERY, he must not be resisted, and that under pain of Damnation. By which Assertion he DAMNS the Late Revolution, and all concerned in it, the Queen Herself not excepted. By a Statute made 1 W. & M. Sess. 2. Cap. 2. 'tis enacted, 'That if any Person shall profess the Popish Religion, or marry a Papist, he shall be for ever incapable to Inherit or ENJOY the Crown and Government of this Realm; and in every such Case, the People of these Realms shall be, and are here-
' by

‘ by absolved of their Allegiance. Thus says the Statute. On the other Hand, this Gentleman pronounces *Damnation* on those that shall *resist* such a Prince. So that we are come to a fine pass, when an *Act of Parliament* shall be blown off by the Breath of a bold *Pulpiteer*.

THE *Protestant* Religion is like to be hope fully secured when those *Barriers*, which the Wisdom of the Nation hath raised to keep out *Popery*, shall be thus overthrown by one Seditious Blast. The truth on’t is, the Doctrines which our *High Flyers* preach up, and the Tumults which they raise, seem calculated to this very End, Even to pave a Way for the *Pretender*, with all the blessed Appurtenances of *French Politicks* and *Religion*, to make his Triumphant Entrance into these Kingdoms.

THOUGH my Business be only to give an *Historical Relation* of Matters of Fact, yet, lest Mr. *Agate* should complain that I have taken no Notice of his Argument, it may not be amiss to make a few Reflections on that *Text*, on which he builds his harsh ill-favoured *Doctrine*, viz. Rom. 13. 2. *Who-soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and he that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* On which I would crave leave to Remark:

1. THE Greek Word ἐξουσία, which in this Chapter is translated *Power*, most properly and commonly signifies *lawful Authority*; to resist which, I account a Damnable Sin as well as Mr. *Agate*. But the Question is, whether this condemns all *Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever*? ’Tis doubtless a Sin to oppose the *Mayor* of a *Corporation* in the Legal Execution of his *Office*; but should this person fall a cutting of Throats, firing of Houses, and ravishing of Wives, no Man doubts but in such Cases he may be resisted. And this would be no *Resistance* to that *Authority* of which St. *Paul* speaks, because he has really no *Authority* to play such mad Pranks as these are. So when the Nation opposed K. *James* in his Attempt to bring in *Popery*, they did not resist Saint *Paul’s* *Lawful Powers* or *Authority*, because he had no *Authority* to destroy GOD’s True Religion, to erect Idolatry and Superstition on the Ruins of it.

2. IF this *Text* forbids Resistance to the Powers in Being upon any pretence whatsoever, it renders it unlawful to resist

an *Usurper* as well as a *Lawful Prince*; which may be thus demonstrated: 'Tis agreed on by the great Patrons of *Passive Obedience*, that this *Epistle* was written by *St. Paul* to the *Romans* during the Reign of *Nero*, and they strengthen their Argument by this Consideration, That Submission was enjoyned by the *Apostle* to such an inhumane bloody *Tyrant*. As for this Monster's Pedigree, he was the Son of *Ænobarbus* and *Agrippina*. His Father dying when he was young, his Mother had Charms enough to engage the Affections of the Emperor *Claudius*, who married this Widow; but in a little time was poisoned by the Contrivances of his Wife and Son-in-Law. * The Emperor being dead, the Crown of Right should have descended on *Britannicus*, his Son, who was then but a Lad †. But *Agrippina* had another Game to play, and so cajolled the Officers of the Army, that they passed by their Dead Masters Heir, and made her Son Emperor ‖. So that *Nero* got the Empire by Treason, Bribery and Murder. I would therefore demand of Mr. *Agate*, Whether the *Romans* might have Lawfully opposed *Nero* in Defence of the Right Heir? If they might, then *Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever* was not forbidden by *St. Paul* in this *Text*. If they might not, then successful *Usurpation* gives a Man a good Title: And those Gentlemen who resisted *Oliver Cromwel*, (who got the Government as *Nero* did, by the Assistance of his Soldiers, and used it much better) instead of being *Martyrs* for *Loyalty*, will deserve a quite contrary Character.

3. LET us compare *St. Paul* with our *Saviour*, who lays this Command upon us, *Mat. 5. 39. I say unto you, that you resist not Evil*. By which we are not to understand an *Evil Thing*, for that must be resisted; but an *Evil Person*, τὸ πονηρὸν. This Prohibition is expressed in as absolute and unlimited Terms as that of the *Apostle*: I demand therefore of Mr. *Agate*, Whether such *Evil Men* as *Robbers* and *Rebels* may not be resisted? I presume he will answer me, That there is an Exception or Limitation implied, though not expressed. But then why may not the Words of *St. Paul* be taken in a limited Sense as well as those of our *Saviour*? Why may not a Nation defend its Constitution against a *publick Tyrant*,

* *Vid. Sueton. in Vit. Ner. cap. 33*
 † *Annal. l. 12.* ‖ *Ibid.*

† *Vid. Corn. Ta-*

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Tyrant, as well as a particular Man his Purse against a *private Robber*, the one (for ought any thing appears in the Text) being as much forbidden by *Christ*, as the other by *St. Paul*? Nor does it any more follow, that a Just Prince must be *unsafe* in the Throne, because a Tyrant may be opposed, than that an Honest Man may not *safely* travel our Roads, because an *Assassin* or *Robber* may be knocked on the Head by any Man that meets him when in his own Defence.

BUT it not being my present Business to argue, I shall only add, that I think it a very Heinous Crime, to *despise Dominion* and *Speak Evil of Dignities*, and much more to raise Tumults and Rebellions, to gratify Mens Ambition or Revenge, or even to redress Tolerable Grievances. Upon the whole; As Mr. *Agate's* Seditious Doctrine on the 30th of *January*, in which he denounced *Damnation* against such as should resist a Prince endeavouring TO BRING IN POPERY, gave birth to this Little Treatise; So, I only think my self obliged to maintain the Contrary Position, That in Cases of *extreme Necessity*, People may defend their Religion and Liberty: In this I shall be countenanced by the *Law of the Land*, the Constant Practise of the *Church of England*, without being contradicted by *Reason* or *Scripture*.

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